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What was a Bible for? Liturgical texts in thirteenth-century Franciscan and Dominican Bibles

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Abstract: Many thirteenth-century portable Bibles survive with some evidence of early Franciscan or Dominican ownership. This fact is a commonplace in the scholarly literature on thirteenth-century Bibles. But it is far from obvious how these Bibles were actually used. The traditional answer is to suggest that they were tools for preachers. Although logical (and surely true in part), the manuscript evidence points in another direction. This paper explores the non-biblical texts in mendicant Bibles that are linked to liturgical use including combined Bible-Missals, Bible-Breviaries, lists of Mass readings, and marginal indications of readings for the Divine Office. The importance of Bibles adapted for liturgical use – particularly prominent in the case of mendicant Bibles – suggests a need to reorient our traditional discussions of the role of the new pocket Bible in Franciscan and Dominican life.

Keywords: Portable (Pocket) Bible, Franciscans, Dominicans, Mendicant Bibles, liturgy.

Para que servia uma Bíblia? Textos litúrgicos nas Bíblias franciscanas e dominicanas do século XIII

Resumo: Muitas Bíblias portáteis do século XIII sobrevivem com marcas de propriedade inicial de franciscanos ou dominicanos. Este facto é um lugar comum na literatura académica sobre as Bíblias do século XIII. Mas está longe de ser óbvio como é que essas Bíblias foram realmente usadas. A resposta tradicional sugere que seriam instrumentos para pregadores. Embora seja lógico (e certamente verdadeiro em parte), as marcas dos manuscritos apontam noutra direção. Este artigo explora os textos não-bíblicos em Bíblias mendicantes que estão ligados ao uso litúrgico, incluindo bíblias-missais, bíblias-breviários, listas de leituras da missa e indicações marginais de leituras para o Ofício Divino. A importância das Bíblias adaptadas para uso litúrgico – particularmente proeminente no caso de Bíblias mendicantes – sugere a necessidade de reorientar as nossas discussões tradicionais sobre o papel da nova Bíblia de bolso na vida franciscana e dominicana.

Palavras-chave: Bíblia portátil (de bolso), franciscanos, dominicanos, Bíblias mendicantes, liturgia.

A significant number of thirteenth-century portable or pocket Bibles survive with some evidence of early ownership (or more properly, use) by a Franciscan or Dominican friar. This fact is a commonplace in the scholarly literature on thirteenth-century Bibles. There is, however, more that needs to be said on the topic. In particular, it is far from obvious how these Bibles were actually used. What were all these Bibles for? The traditional answer is to suggest that pocket Bibles were tools for preachers. Although logical (and surely true in part), the manuscript evidence points in another direction. This paper discusses the non-biblical texts in mendicant Bibles that are linked to liturgical use, exploring combined Bible-Missals and Bible-Breviaries, lists of Mass readings, and marginal indications of readings for the Divine Office. The importance of Bibles adapted for liturgical use – particularly prominent in the case of mendicant Bibles – suggest a need to reorient our traditional discussions of the role of the new pocket Bible in Franciscan and Dominican life.

The transformation of the Bible from a corporately owned book used for public reading – large, almost always in many volumes, often quite grandly illuminated – to the new Bible of the thirteenth century – complete in one volume, and owned and/or used by individuals – is one of the pivotal moments in the history of the Bible in the Middle Ages. Accompanying this transformation was the invention of a completely new format that included the entire scriptures in one remarkably small, if rather thick, volume[1]. It has often been observed that many of these new portable or pocket Bibles were used by the mendicant friars, in particular the Franciscans and Dominicans[2]. In her important recent essay, "Qui lisait les bibles portatives fabriquées au xiii^{e} siècle", Chiara Ruzzier has now provided us with some statistics that do in fact confirm this impression. Ruzzier identified 175 portable Bibles with

1 Chiara Ruzzier – Des armaria aux besaces: la mutation de la Bible au XIIIe siècle. In *Les usages sociaux de la Bible, XIe-XVe siècles. Cahiers électroniques d'histoire textuelle du LAMOP*. 3 (2010), 1re éd. en ligne 2011; Chiara Ruzzier – Qui lisait les bibles portatives fabriquées au XIIIe siècle. In *Lecteurs, lectures et groupes sociaux au Moyen Âge : actes de la journée d'études organisée par le Centre de recherches «Pratiques médiévales de l'écrit» (PraME) de l'Université de Namur et le Département des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Bruxelles, 18 mars 2010*. Dir. Xavier Hermand, Étienne Renard and Céline Van Hoorebeeck. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2014, p. 10-28; Chiara Ruzzier – The Miniaturisation of Bible Manuscripts in the Thirteenth Century. A Comparative Study. In *Form and in the Late Medieval Bible*. Dir. Eyal Poleg and Laura Light. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013, p. 105-216; Rosanna Miriello – La Bibbia portabile di origine italiana del XIII secolo. Brevi considerazioni e alcuni esempi. In *La Bibbia del XIII Secolo. Storia del testo, storia dell'esegesi*. Dir. Giuseppe Cremascoli and Francesco Santi. Florence: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2004, p. 47-77; Josephine Case Schnurman – *Studies in the medieval book trade from the late twelfth to the middle of the fourteenth century with special reference to the copying of the Bible*. Unpublished B.Litt. Thesis. St. Hilda's College, Oxford. June 1960. The terms "pocket Bible" and "portable Bible" are used interchangeably by modern scholars; Ruzzier has pointed out the *portatilis* was already in use in the thirteenth century (Ruzzier – Qui lisait..., p. 20-21). Definitions have also varied; following Schnurman, I have defined them as Bibles measuring less than 200 mm. in height. Ruzzier defines them as Bibles whose height plus width is less than 380 mm. I extend my thanks to Luís Correia de Sousa, who invited me to present the first version of this paper at the conference in Lisbon in 2015, and to Eyal Poleg, who commented on the written version.

2 In addition to works cited in note 1, Christopher de Hamel – *The book. A history of the Bible*. London and N.Y.: Phaidon Press, 2001, p. 114-139; Laura Light – The New Thirteenth-Century Bible and the Challenge of Heresy. *Viator*. 18 (1987) 275-288, at 279.

some evidence of their original or early ownership (through the fifteenth century). More than half of these Bibles (62.9% of this sample or 110 Bibles) were owned by one of the mendicant orders[3].

It is of course essential not to over-estimate the significance of this result. As Ruzzier herself warns, most thirteenth-century portable Bibles survive with no evidence at all of original or early ownership, in part because they are particularly likely to be rebound at some point in their history, and consequently are prone to losing endleaves with potential evidence of ownership, if in fact such evidence ever existed[4]. And Ruzzier's sample of 110 Bibles with established evidence of mendicant ownership is a mere drop in the bucket when one considers how many thirteenth-century Bibles survive[5]. This evidence certainly does not allow us to say that most pocket Bibles were made for, or used by, the friars. Nonetheless, there is no denying that Franciscan and Dominican were among the most important users of these books[6].

Establishing that significant numbers of Franciscans and Dominicans owned portable Bibles, however, does not answer the question of why they did. Part of the answer is, of course, that these Bibles were portable. The friars travelled, and many of their books in addition to Bibles, including Breviaries, model sermon collections, and confessional manuals, to name a few of the most common examples, were often copied in very small formats[7]. But this simply begs the further question, why were they carrying these Bibles with them? What did they need them for, or in other words, how did they use them?

As I have argued in previous articles, one of the most direct ways of assessing how thirteenth-century Bibles were used is to look at the non-biblical texts they include[8]. The present essay is not a comprehensive survey of all the non-biblical texts added to mendicant Bibles. Here, let it suffice to say that research does indicate that

3 Ruzzier – Qui lisait… (cited note 1), p. 12, and table one; see also p. 15.

4 Because mendicant Bibles are more likely than Bibles copied for other owners to include liturgical texts, it is easier to identify them from their contents (see below, p. 8), which biases the result in favor of mendicant ownership; see also Ruzzier – Qui lisait… (cited note one), p. 11, note 7.

5 A definite number of surviving copies is difficult to establish. Ruzzier's database, compiled from catalogues as well as manuscript she examined herself includes 1201 portable Bibles; Ruzzier – Qui lisait… (cited note 1), p.10.

6 What role, if any, the mendicant orders played in the origin of this new format still remains for further research. Cf. Ruzzier – Qui lisait… (cited note 1), p. 14; and also de Hamel – *The book* (cited note 2), p. 133-138.

7 David d'Avray – Portable vademecum books containing Franciscan and Dominican texts. In *Manuscripts at Oxford: an exhibition in memory of Richard William Hunt… on themes selected and described by some of his friends*. Dir. Albinia de la Mare and B. C. Barker-Benfield. Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1980, p. 60-64; David D'Avray – *The preaching of the friars: sermons diffused from Paris before 1300*. Oxford: Clarendon Press and New York: Oxford University Press, 1985, p. 56-62.

8 Laura Light – Non-biblical Texts in Thirteenth-Century Bibles. In *Medieval Manuscripts, Their Makers and Users: A Special Issue of Viator in Honor of Richard and Mary Rouse*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2011, p. 169-183.

all the major types of non-biblical texts surveyed in my previous study can be found in these Bibles[9].

There are certainly Franciscan and Dominican Bibles that include tools for preachers: lists of sermon themes arranged according to the liturgical year, several versions of real, or topical, concordances, as well as specialized concordances designed specifically to help preach against heresy, are three notable examples. And in fact, at one time, I would have quite confidently stated that the Franciscans and Dominicans used their portable Bibles primarily to find biblical texts for their sermons. This focus can be seen in my first article on thirteenth-century portable Bibles, published in 1987[10]. To summarize: the new one-volume Bible of the thirteenth-century was an ideal tool for preachers (including, but not exclusively, Franciscan and Dominican preachers), and preaching was particularly important in a church that took its pastoral function increasingly seriously in the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council. These Bibles can thus be seen in the context of the development of a host of other tools that made the work of preachers possible (and made the Bible itself more easily searchable), including alphabetical distinction collections (guides to the figurative meanings of biblical words), the verbal concordance, collections of exempla, and subject indexes to the Bible[11]. Christopher de Hamel went even further, envisioning the new portable Bible not only as a tool used by preachers sitting at their desks looking for passages they needed while they wrote their sermons, but also as a book they took with them to the pulpit as a symbol of authority: "They must have travelled with it, shown and shaken it, and doubtless thumped their pulpits with it"[12].

All these points are good ones, but they only tell part of the story. The manuscripts themselves insist that we look at the Bible in an entirely different light, and tell us that the small portable Bible was first and foremost seen as a liturgical volume by the friars – as an accompaniment to the daily round of prayer in the Mass and Office. The non-biblical texts that stand out to me now as most important are not texts used by preachers or texts related to the study of the Bible by students and professors, but rather texts related to the liturgy. Ruzzier's statistical analysis lends impressive support to this suggestion. 62% of the Bibles she identified as mendicant

9 Light – Non-biblical… (cited note 8).

10 Light – The New Thirteenth-Century Bible… (cited note 2), 275-288.

11 Richard and Mary Rouse – The Development of Research Tools in the Thirteenth Century. In Richard and Mary Rouse – *Authentic Witnesses. Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*. Notre Dame, Indiana : University of Notre Dame Press, 1991, p. 221-225; Richard and Mary Rouse – *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the "Manipulus florum" of Thomas of Ireland*. Vol. 47: *PIMS Studies and Texts*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1979), p. 3-90.

12 De Hamel – *The Book*… (cited note 2), p. 133.

included a calendar or list of readings for the Mass – both evidence of liturgical use – and these types of texts were present in only 37% of Bibles from other owners[13].

This essay presents examples of mendicant Bibles that have convinced me that one of the most important (although not the only) use a mendicant friar had for his Bible was liturgical – to find the readings for the Mass, and possibly even more importantly, for the Divine Office. It is not an analysis of all the Bibles known to me with evidence of mendicant ownership. Let us begin, however, by looking at two Dominican Bibles, which serve to illustrate several important general statements about mendicant Bibles.

The first example is a small Bible, now owned by the Henry Ransom Center in Texas (Austin, Texas, Henry Ransom Research Center, MS 25; formerly England, Bristol, Baptist College, MS Z.d.39)[14]. It was certainly used early in its history by Dominicans, and it was very likely copied for them. I have not examined it in person, but it was described by Neil Ker when it was in Bristol, who recorded that it includes a late thirteenth-century ex libris; the end of the first line is now lost, but even so, it clearly states that this Bible was at that time Dominican: "Hec biblia est de// <?> //fratrum praedicatorum" (This Bible is of <?> of the brothers preachers)[15]. By the fourteenth century the Bible was in England, when it was used by brother Vincent John of Lisbon (p. vii, "Ista biblia est fratris Vincenti Ihoannis Vlixbon). Brother Vincent of Lisbon was appointed by the general council to read the *Sentences* at Oxford in 1376; he died in 1401[16]. It is quite small, measuring 190 x 138 mm., but it is copied on comparatively thick parchment. The script, written in two columns of sixty lines within a written space of only 138 x 93 mm., is a very tiny rounded Gothic bookhand that suggests it was copied by a scribe trained in Southern Europe (although "qui" appears to be abbreviated in the northern fashion), probably in the second quarter of the thirteenth century (the text begins under the top ruled line). The hand is regular and quite competent, and the volume has been carefully corrected. The decoration, however, is very idiosyncratic. Although the matter needs further research, it seems possible that this may have been copied in Portugal, and then taken to England later in its history by Brother Vincent. The Dominicans were an early presence in Portugal – Brother Soeiro Gomes, one of Dominic's first companions, arrived in 1217. A convent was established at Montejunto in the

13 Ruzzier – Qui lisait… (cited note 1), p. 15.

14 N. R. Ker – *Medieval manuscripts in British libraries*. Oxford: Clarendon Press and New York: Oxford University Press, 1969-2002, vol. 2, p. 193-4; and Digital Scriptorium. http://ds.lib.berkeley.edu/HRC025_37 (accessed 06-10-2017).

15 Ker – *Medieval manuscripts*… (cited note 14), vol. 2, p. 193.

16 A. B. Emden – *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957-1959, p. 1151; William Page, L. F. Salzman, H. E. Salter, M. D. Lobel, Alan Crossley, and Simon Townley –*The Victoria History of the County of Oxford*. Oxford: Published for University of London, Institute of Historical Research by Oxford University Press, 1907, vol. 2, p. 116.

following year (and re-established at Santarem in 1219). Convents were founded at Coimbra in 1228, at Porto in 1238, and in Lisbon in 1241, and the Vicariate of Portugal of the Iberian Province was established and in 1275[17]. Further research into the early books surviving from these convents would be of great interest[18].

Its text is almost completely unrelated to the Paris Bible[19], although it does include the *Oratio manasses* (Stegmüller 39,2)[20] at the end of 2 Chronicles and 2(3) Ezra (Stegmüller 94,1), it is divided according to modern chapters, and it includes the usual version of the *Interpretations of Hebrew Names*[21]. The books, however, are arranged in a completely different order: Octateuch, 1-4 Kings, 1-2 Chronicles the Major and Minor Prophets (with Baruch), Job, Psalms, Wisdom, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Ezra, Nehemiah, 2(3) Ezra, Maccabees, Gospels, Pauline Epistles, Acts, and the Apocalypse. And it includes none of the six prologues that were introduced to Bibles without the Gloss by the Paris Bible[22]. It was adopted for liturgical use in the fourteenth or fifteenth century when a list of the Epistle and Gospel readings for the Mass was added following the Apocalypse.

New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University, Beinecke Library, MS 433 is in all respects a good contrast to the previous Bible[23]. It is a classic example of a Bible illuminated in a commercial shop in Paris around the middle of the thirteenth

17 The Portuguese Province of the Order of Preachers, however, was not established until 1418. Fr. José Nunes – The 50th Anniversary of the restoration of the Dominican province of Portugal. http://www.op.org/en/content/50th-anniversary-restoration-dominican-province-portugal (accessed 06-10-2017).

18 Only two Bibles of possible Portuguese origin are recorded in Luís Correia de Sousa com a colaboração de Patricia Stirnemann e Adelaide Miranda – *Sacra Pagina. Textos e imagens das Bíblias portáteis do século XIII pertencentes às coleções portuguesas*. Lisboa : Paulus Editora, 2015, cat. 21, BNP, Alc. 457, and cat. 30, BNP, IL. 20, both from Santa Maria de Alcobaça.

19 I am using the term here to describe a particular text, not a format or place of origin; see Laura Light – The Bible and the Individual: The Thirteenth-century Paris Bible. In *The Practice of the Bible in the Western Middle Ages*. Dir. Susan Boynton and Diane Reilly. New York: Columbia University Press, 2011, p. 228-246, at p. 232-235, and works cited there. A convenient list of the order of the books and set of prologues is found in Ker – *Medieval Manuscripts* (cited note 14), vol. 1, p. 196-197.

20 Fridericus Stegmüller – *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1950-61, and with the assistance of N. Reinhardt – *Supplement*. Madrid, 1976-80.

21 The common version of the *Interpretations of Hebrew Names* refers to the version beginning "Aaz apprehendens uel apprehensio …" and concluding, "Zuzim consiliantes eos uel consilatores eorum"; see Stegmüller (cited note 20), 7709. On the question of the author, see Giovanna Murano – Chi ha scritto le *Interpretationes Hebraicorum Nominum*? In *Étienne Langton, prédicateur, bibliste, théologien*. Ed. Louis-Jacques Bataillon, Nicole Bériou, Gilbert Dahan et Riccardo Quinto. Turnhout: Brepols, 2010, p. 353-371.

22 The set of sixty-four prologues found in the Paris Bible (see note 19) included six that are not found in manuscripts of the Vulgate without the gloss before the thirteenth century: Stegmüller 462 ("Memini me" – Ecclesiastes); 513 ("Hic Amos" – Amos); 547 ("Cum sim" – Maccabees) and 553 ("Memini me" – Maccabees); 589 ("Matheus cum primo" – Matthew), and 839 ("Omnes qui pie" – Apocalypse).

23 Barbara Shailor – *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*. Binghamton, New York: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1984- , vol. 2. Partial digitization, http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3447133; see also Digital Scriptorium. http://vm133.lib.berkeley.edu:8080/xtf22/search?rmode=digscript;smode=basic;text=beinecke%20MS%20433;docsPerPage=1;startDoc=1;fullview=yes

century[24]. It was certainly Dominican by the fifteenth century, and perhaps before. A fifteenth-century inscription on f. 422r states that the manuscript was given to the Dominican convent of St. Andrew in Faenza by Fr. Vincent de Albicellis, who had bought it with money from his parents, and who had permission from the general of the order, Leonardo de Perusio, to have the use of it for himself ("Ego frater Vincentius de albicellis de fauentia hanc bibliam emi ex pecunijs parentum meorum Que et per R. M. leonardum de perusio nostri ordinis generalem concessa mihi fuit ad libitum sed tamen pertinet ad conuentum S. Andree de fauentia ordinis predicatorum").

Like our first example it is quite small, measuring 185 x 123 mm.; the script is slightly larger, with two columns of 51 lines within a written space of 132 x 85 mm[25]. In terms of the order of the biblical books, choice of prologues (with a few exceptions), modern chapters, and *Interpretations of Hebrew Names*, it is a typical example of the Paris Bible. It includes lists of Epistle and Gospel readings for the Mass, and the Psalms include running headlines for the Office readings at Matins, evidence linking it to liturgical use for the Mass and the Divine Office[26]. It also includes extensive marginal notes correcting texts and giving parallel readings.

These two Bibles could hardly be more different in terms of their text and physical appearance. They were chosen deliberately to illustrate several important observations about mendicant Bibles (these two examples are Dominican, but my comments are also relevant to Franciscan Bibles I have seen). Most importantly, the evidence of the manuscripts with original or early mendicant provenance makes it clear that there was no one standard Dominican or Franciscan Bible in the thirteenth century. Their Bibles vary in terms of the biblical text, as well as their choice of non-biblical elements, in particular prologues. Both the Franciscans and Dominicans appear to have simply used Bibles that were available locally. These two Bibles are good illustrations of this, as are the remaining examples discussed in this essay. This diversity in text is paralleled by the diversity in their physical appearance; some mendicant Bibles are very finely illuminated, luxurious volumes (surprisingly so) like Beinecke, MS 433, others are much simpler. The friars acquired their Bibles in many different ways. Some were commissioned from professional booksellers. Brother Vincent of Albicellis, for example, used money from his parents to purchase his Bible, which he then gave to his convent (retaining use of it during his lifetime).

24 Attributed by Robert Branner to the Soissons atelier; see Robert Branner – The 'Soissons Bible' Paintshop in Thirteenth-Century Paris. *Speculum*. 44 (1969) 34-35, and Robert Branner – *Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977, p. 77-78, 216, and Appendix V H.

25 Ruzzier – The Miniaturisation (cited note 1), p. 119-120, discussing the slightly thicker parchment and much smaller size of the script characteristic of portable Bibles copied in Southern Europe.

26 This Bible includes two lists of Mass readings; further study of these two texts to determine why would be of interest.

Other mendicant Bibles may have been copied by the friars themselves. And in many cases, friars brought their Bibles with them when they entered the order.

This lack of uniformity is important, and demonstrates that although mendicant Bibles were used liturgically they were not liturgical books per se. Both the Dominicans and the Franciscans were concerned with liturgical uniformity, and indeed were largely successful in achieving it – the Dominicans by 1254-6 when legislation approving the Dominican prototype was enacted (Rome, Dominican Archives, Santa Sabina, Codex XIV L.1)[27], and the Franciscans by 1243-44 with the reforms introduced by Haymo of Faversham (although as early as the *Regula bullata* of 1223 they were concerned that everyone follow a uniform Office)[28]. The largely successful regulation of their liturgical books was not followed in their Bibles. The textual diversity of mendicant Bibles, in fact, is one of the best confirmations of the conclusion accepted by most modern scholars that the Franciscan and Dominican *correctoria* or *correctiones* – manuals listing variant readings from different manuscripts of the Latin Bible and sometimes from the Greek and the Hebrew – were primarily exegetical tools. There is no evidence that they were used to establish a new corrected edition of the Vulgate, nor that they were intended for such a use[29].

Since there is no "typical" mendicant Bible, it is consequently impossible to identify them now if they do not include some external evidence such as an ex libris note, or a liturgical text pointing to use by one of the mendicant orders (identifying saints in calendars, lists of readings for the Mass, Missals, or Breviaries, or other liturgical details). Ruzzier suggests that in the majority of cases in her sample, mendicant Bibles are rather simply decorated, and slightly bigger than the very smallest examples[30]. This may be true in general, but there are so many exceptions, that I am wary of generalizations.

This essay looks briefly at the three most important non-biblical tools found in mendicant Bibles, examining Bibles with Missals, Bibles with lists of lections

27 Leonard E. Boyle, Pierre-Marie Gy, avec la collaboration de Paweł Krupa, dir. – *Aux origines de la liturgie dominicaine : le manuscrit Santa Sabina XIV L 1*. Rome : Ecole française de Rome and Paris : CNRS, 2004.

28 S. J. P. Van Dijk, dir. – *Sources of the modern Roman liturgy: the ordinals by Haymo of Faversham and related documents (1243-1307)*. Leiden: Brill, 1963; S. J. P. Van Dijk and J. Hazelden Walker – *The origins of the modern Roman liturgy: the liturgy of the papal court and the Franciscan Order in the thirteenth century*. Westminster, Maryland : Newman Press, 1960.

29 Gilbert Dahan – La critique textuelle dans les correctoires de la Bible du XIIIe siècle. In *Langages et philosophie. Hommage à Jean Jolivet*. Dir A. de Libera, A. Elamrani-Jamal and A. Galonnier. Paris: J. Vrin, 1997, p. 365-392; Gilbert Dahan – *L'exégèse chrétienne de la Bible en Occident médiéval, XIIe-XIVe siècles*. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1999, p. 173-228; Gilbert Dahan – La méthode critique dans l'étude de la Bible (XIIe-XIIIe s.). In *La méthode critique au moyen âge*. Dir. M. Chazan et G. Dahan. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006, p. 103-128. The biblical text found in Franciscan and Dominican liturgical manuscripts has scarcely been studied. Dahan's study of the biblical text in the Dominican prototype is pertinent to this question, but the matter needs to be considered more broadly. See Gilbert Dahan – Les textes bibliques dans le lectionnaire du 'Prototype' de la liturgie dominicaine. In *Aux origines de la liturgie dominicaine* (cited note 28), p. 159-182.

30 Ruzzier – Qui lisait… (cited note 1), p. 27-28. I would add that Bibles with marginal notes in numerous different hands may also be more likely to be mendicant in origin.

for the Mass, and Bibles used for the Divine Office[31]. Some mendicants studied at the university, some of them taught, and many of them preached – and for all these occupations, their Bibles could be useful (as witnessed by a wealth of added non-biblical texts, ranging from the *summa contra manicheos* and other collections of sermon themes, real concordances, marginal notes recording variant readings or cross references, Gospel concordances and biblical summaries), but all friars prayed, and the new portable Bible of the thirteenth century was used liturgically by Franciscan and Dominican Friars throughout the Middle Ages.

Bible-Missals

Bibles combining the complete biblical text with the text of a Missal in one volume were a thirteenth-century invention. They were never common, but they survive in sufficient numbers that they must be considered an established genre. There were generally two biblical readings at each Mass, one from the Gospels, and one from another biblical book, most often the Pauline Epistles. These readings represent a significant percentage of the text copied in a Missal, and combining a Bible and a Missal was therefore a practical innovation (the biblical readings were identified briefly in the Missal, and their complete text was found in the Bible). In an earlier article, I discussed a group of twenty-three Bible-Missals and three additional Bibles that included some materials for Mass; the list has continued to grow since that article was published to include thirty-three examples[32]. Thirteen of these Bible-Missals were mendicant in origin. Five were copied for Franciscans, and eight for Dominicans[33]. The simple fact of their existence is evidence of the liturgical use of the Bible, in this case for readings of the Mass, by the Franciscans and Dominicans.

31 Liturgical calendars are not discussed here, but they are found in numerous mendicant Bibles, almost always in the company of other liturgical texts.

32 Laura Light – The Thirteenth-century Pandect and the Liturgy: Bibles with Missals. In *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible*. Dir. Eyal Poleg and Laura Light. Leiden: Brill, 2013, p. 185-216 (includes an appendix with brief descriptions of these Bibles). To this list may now be added Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf 1335 Helmst.; Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, IL 34 (Luís Correia de Sousa et al. – *Sacra Pagina* (cited note 18), cat. 13); Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, CF 137, Franciscan? (*Sacra Pagina*, cat. 28); and Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto, MS 621 (*Sacra Pagina*, cat. 17), with a list of Mass readings that includes introits; a list of this type is also found in Wellesley, Massachusetts, Wellesley College, Milne MS 43; Chicago, Newberry Library, MS Case 18, includes Mass Prefaces following the Psalms (Paul Saenger – *A catalogue of the pre-1500 western manuscript books at the Newberry Library*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989, p. 34-35); and Chicago, Newberry Library, MS 203/ University of Notre Dame, MS 10, includes Mass texts, now incomplete, following Job.

33 Light – Thirteenth-century pandect… (cited note 33), p. 208-214, listing Franciscan Bibles: Boston, Massachusetts, Boston Public Library, MS qMed 202; formerly London, Law Society, MS 3 (107.f); Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.1.3; and London, British Library, MS Harley 2813; Dominican: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean 16; London and Oslo, Schøyen Collection, MS 115; Private Collection, U.S.A. [last sold, London, Sam Fogg, *Art and Ownership*, 2014, no. 2]; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. bib.e.7; Paris, BnF, MS Lat 163; Paris, BnF, MS Lat 215; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 31; and Poitiers, Bibliothèque municipal, MS 12. One additional Bible, not included in this list, Arquivo nacional Torre do

The mendicant Bibles in this group tend to be among the smaller of known examples of Bible-Missals; all but two measure less than 200 mm. in height, and three are exceptionally small, measuring less than 150 mm[34]. They are on the whole formal books, which is not surprising, given the fact that Missals are as well, and many of them are illuminated and must have been quite expensive. The Missal section in Bible-Missals in general can be found in various places within the codex, but in mendicant Bibles it is often copied following the Psalms, roughly in the middle of the Bible. This is true in the case of six of the mendicant Bibles with Missals[35]. I would even cautiously suggest that a Missal in the middle of the Bible might be an indication of mendicant origin. In addition to the six mendicant Bibles with Missals following the Psalms, I know of four other Bibles of still undetermined use with Missals in that location; one of these, California, Huntington Library, HM 26061, has traditionally been said to have been copied for the use of Regular Canons, but it includes indexing symbols associated with the Oxford Franciscans[36].

Our first example of a mendicant Bible-Missal is the well-known Bible illuminated by William de Brailes, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS lat. bib.e.7. It is important as one of the earliest witnesses of a Dominican Missal from England. Although some scholars have suggested an earlier date, liturgical evidence supports a date after 1234, perhaps c. 1234-40, since it includes a Mass for St. Dominic. It is very small, measuring only 168 x 108 (written space, 119-7 x 74) mm, with 441 folios. The order of the biblical books follows the new order of the Paris Bible, it is divided according to modern chapters, and it includes the usual version of the *Interpretations of Hebrew Names*. There are no prologues except Jerome's general prologue, beginning "Frater ambrosius" (Stegmüller 284) and his prologue to Genesis "Desiderii mei" (Stegmüller 285) (something I have seen in other very small English Bibles), and the biblical text does not include the readings of the Paris Bible. The Missal is found between the Psalms and Proverbs, rather than at the end of the volume or at the beginning. It includes only selected Masses, rather than Masses for the entire liturgical year. This is a luxurious manuscript, fully illuminated, with only a few marginal notes.

Tombo, CF 137, may also be Franciscan (see note 32). Six of these thirty-three Bible-Missals are known to me only through brief descriptions; some of these may also have been copied for one of the mendicant orders.

34 One Franciscan Bible, Boston, Massachusetts, Boston Public Library, MS qMed 202, 225 x 254 mm. (discussed below), and one Dominican Bible, Poitiers, Bibliothèque municipal, MS 12, 206 x 135 mm., are slightly larger; the three smallest are a Franciscan Old Testament, formerly Law Society, MS 3 (107.f), 123 x 79 mm. (discussed below), and two Dominican Bibles, London and Oslo, Schøyen Collection, MS 115, 140 x 90 mm. and Paris, BnF, MS lat. 214, 135 x 87 mm.

35 The Missal follows the Psalms in Boston Public Library, MS qMed 202; formerly London, Law Society, MS 3 (107.f); British Library, MS Harley 2813; Schøyen Collection, MS 115; Bodleian Library, MS Lat. bib.e.7; and BnF, MS Lat 215.

36 The lack of Franciscan saints in the Missal of the Huntington Bible does seem to suggest it was not copied for Franciscan use. Two of these Bibles I have not seen, Madrid, Biblioteca nacional, MS 29, and Brussels, Royal Library, MS 14 (8882). The use of London, Harley, MS 1748 is undetermined.

Another Bible-Missal probably illuminated by De Brailes or his workshop, British Library, Harley MS 2813, was made for a Franciscan rather than a Dominican[37]. It is also quite small, measuring 183 x 133 mm. with 506 folios and with fifty-one lines of text copied within a written space of 114 x 74 mm., and its Missal follows the Psalms. This Bible is arranged according to the new order, includes modern chapters, and the usual *Interpretations of Hebrew Names*, but it is not a copy of the Paris Bible: it includes numerous additional prologues, and lacks both the six new prologues from that text, and its characteristic textual readings.

The Oxford De Brailes Bible is very luxurious; this is only a little less so. It is missing the initial to Genesis, but includes a handsome historiated initial at the beginning before Jerome's general prologue; all the remaining biblical books and prologues also begin with painted initials – all but one non-figurative, but notably large and well-executed. This is a Bible that was used, and it includes marginal notes books in Exodus, Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Matthew, Luke, Romans and 1 Corinthians, often with variant readings and cross-references to other biblical books. One passage on f. 250 at the beginning of Wisdom includes indexing symbols of the type associated with Robert Grosseteste and the Oxford Franciscans[38].

Not all mendicant Bibles with Mass texts are as luxurious as the two De Brailes Bibles. Boston, Massachusetts, Boston Public Library, MS qMed 202 is an example of a simpler Franciscan Bible-Missal, which conforms more to our preconceptions of what a mendicant Bible should look like (although I hope the Bibles discussed to this point demonstrate that there were plenty of luxurious illuminated Bibles in use in the convents and on the road with travelling friars). It was likely copied in Southern France in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, and is somewhat larger, with 376 folios, measuring 225 x 154 (written space, 143 x 90-88) mm., copied in two columns of fifty-seven lines. It does not follow the Paris order, has none of the new Paris prologues, none of the distinctive readings of the Paris text, and is divided into both older and modern chapters. This is a good example of a thirteenth-century pandect that was almost certainly copied from an older exemplar. It does include the usual version of the *Interpretations of Hebrew Names*. The Missal is copied following the Psalms and in the same quire. There are numerous signs of use, including cross references, marginal corrections, references to Gregory's *Moralia* in Job, and marginal indexing symbols.

37 Peter Kidd – A Franciscan Bible Illuminated in the Style of William de Brailles. *eBritish Library Journal*. (2007), http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2007articles/article8.html

38 Kidd – A Franciscan Bible… (cited note 38), suggests these symbols appear in Proverbs as well; the matter needs further research; in my opinion the symbols in Proverbs appear to be simple tie marks.

Another example, Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 31, which exhibits a similar or even less formal level of production, is Dominican. It is quite small, with 362 folios, measuring 182 x 117 (written space, 122-120 x 79-77) mm., with two columns of 54-55 lines. Texts for the Mass are copied both before and after the biblical text. Once again, it is not a copy of the Paris Bible, although it is arranged according to the new order (with a small exception: Tobit, Job, Esther, Judith, Psalms), includes modern chapters and the usual *Interpretations of Hebrew Names*. The set of prologues also differ from those in Paris Bibles, although in this case it does includes the two prologues to Maccabees characteristic of the Paris set. Nonetheless, it lacks the characteristic textual readings. The distinctive style of the penwork initial before Genesis suggests this book was in Spain early in its history, if it was not copied there[39]. This was a book designed for multiple uses, and it concludes with a corpus of additional prologues copied by the scribe, and a Gospel harmony using modern chapters.

The last example no longer exists. Formerly the property of the Law Society of England and Wales, MS 3 (107.f), it was a very small Old Testament measuring only 123 x 79 (written space, 95 x 62) mm. copied for Franciscan use with a Missal following the Psalms. It seems likely that at some time before it was bound in the eighteenth century, it would have been a complete Bible. In contrast with the other Bible-Missals discussed to this point, it appears to have been a copy of a Paris Bible[40]. It was sold at Sotheby's in 2013 when the Law Society sold all their manuscripts, then appeared briefly on eBay, after which it must have been broken, since leaves appeared at auction in 2014. It is a very sad fate indeed for what was a lovely and important volume.

What were Bible-Missals used for? I would argue that the obvious answer is the correct one: Missals, whether in Bibles or copied independently, were used to say Mass, and this was true even though many of the mendicant examples were quite small, and copied in very tiny script[41]. This is true for Bible-Missals with texts for the complete liturgical year, as well as for those with texts for selected masses only. In earlier articles, I unfortunately described the Missal sections with selected Masses only as "abbreviated" (or even more unfortunately as "partial"), which may have led to confusion. Abbreviated Missals do not include Masses for the entire liturgical year, but they do include all the texts needed to say Mass on selected occasions,

39 I previously suggested this book was probably Spanish in origin because of the pen decoration in the inner and lower margin of f. 8 with a "vermiculated" background, but other cataloguers (see C. Rabel – Initiale. Catalogue des manuscrits enluminés. http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr/ouvrages/ouvrages.php?id=6361&indexCourant=0, accessed 06-10-2017) have suggested this decoration may have been added.

40 Described in Ker – *Medieval Manuscripts*... (cited note 14), vol. 1, p. 118-119.

41 Richard William Pfaff – *The liturgy in medieval England: a history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 325, wonders whether very small examples were practical books to use to say Mass.

often votive Masses and Masses for the dead, together with a few proper Masses for selected feasts[42]. The content of the Missals in these books, with their focus on votive Masses, suggests their primary use was for private Masses, rather than for the daily conventual Masses said as part of the liturgical observances in Franciscan and Dominican Houses or in secular churches. Votive Masses were not necessarily private Masses, but private Masses were customarily said for special intentions. Missals in general were corporate books, belonging to a church rather than to an individual priest (in contrast with Breviaries which were personal books). But a very small combined Bible-Missal was easy to carry, and certainly would have been a boon for a traveling friar, whether it was used to say private Masses, or to even at times to say Mass for a congregation, especially since the availability of liturgical books at the parish level probably varied widely.

Bibles with Lists of Readings for the Mass

One of the most widely copied non-biblical text included in thirteenth-century Bibles were lists of the Epistle and Gospel readings for the Mass (capitularies or *capitula lectionum*). Only the *Interpretations of Hebrew Names* and simple lists of the books of the Bible are found more often. Lists of Gospel readings are one of the oldest accompaniments to the biblical text – they are an almost standard feature of Gospel Books. But lists that include both the Gospel reading and the Epistle reading are quite uncommon until the thirteenth century, when the adoption of numbered modern chapters became the standard system of reference[43]. In the thirteenth century they were very popular indeed, and they continued in popularity through the fifteenth century, as the numerous lists added to thirteenth-century Bibles by later users attest (they are even found in an English translation in many Wycliffite Bibles)[44]. How they were used, however, is still something of a puzzle. But once again, one is wise to take the simplest explanation seriously, and see them as evidence that one-volume Bibles may have been used as lectionaries during Mass. Private devotional reading of the daily Mass pericopes is another possibility (although admittedly a hypothetical one at this point). Finally, they could have also

42 Many of the mendicant examples include selected Masses of this sort. Dominican examples include the two De Brailes Bibles discussed above, Paris, BnF, MS lat 215, and Schøyen Collection, MS 115; Franciscan examples include Harley, MS 2813, formerly Law Society, MS 3 (107.4), and Boston Public Library, MS qMed 202. Cf. Ruzzier – Qui lisait..., p. 16.

43 Light – Non-biblical (cited note 8), p. 173-175; Theodor Klauser – *Das römische Capitulare evangeliorum: Texte und Untersuchungen zu seiner ältesten Geschichte.* Münster in Westf. : Aschendorff, 1935.

44 Matti Peikola – Tables of Lections in Manuscripts of the Wycliffite Bible. In *Form and Function in the Late Medieval Bible*. Dir. Eyal Poleg and Laura Light. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013, p. 351-378. Their popularity continued even after the fifteenth century; they were often found in early printed Bibles (we thank Eyal Poleg for this information).

been used by preachers; sermons then (as now), often took their theme from the Mass reading of the day.

Lists of Mass readings are very commonly found in mendicant Bibles. Both Dominican Bibles used as examples at the beginning of this paper include them (and indeed, the Beinecke Bible includes two lists of Mass readings). They are important for two reasons. First, for what they tell us about the use of the Bible (even if exactly how they were used is something that is still a matter of debate). Secondly, they can help establish the date, origin, and early ownership of Bibles in which they are found. It is always worth looking carefully at the saints included in the sanctorale, which can vary, just as the saints included in liturgical calendars vary. Moreover, especially in the case of thirteenth-century lists, Franciscan use can easily be identified through the choice of readings for Advent[45].

An English example with this text is the very small Bible, measuring only 140 x 91 (written space, 108-7 x 64-3) mm., London, British Library, Arundel MS 303, perhaps from Oxford. It is of interest as an early example of a Dominican portable Bible, possibly dating between 1228 and 1234. As we have seen already a number of times in the English Bibles discussed here, it is not a copy of the Paris Bible (it is arranged according to the new Paris order, but it includes only a few prologues and a non-Paris text). It is copied in a very tiny script with numerous abbreviations, and in addition to a list of Mass readings, it includes a Dominican calendar[46]. Another Dominican example with a list of readings for the Mass is Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 24. It is French, and was probably copied in Paris in the middle of the thirteenth century. It is also quite small, measuring 150 x 100 (written space, 111 x 75-4) mm., and it is a copy of the Paris Bible (it includes the characteristic readings of the Paris text, is arranged according to the new order, and includes the Paris prologues, albeit with a few minor exceptions). A final example is a Franciscan Bible, British Library, Egerton MS 2908, copied in Italy, perhaps in Bologna, that also includes a calendar. It is very small, measuring 145 x 90 (written space, 100 x 70) mm. A list of Mass readings was added to this Bible in the fifteenth century, probably in Germany. There are frequent variant readings added in the margins of this Bible, and the text of the Psalms is the sole complete witness of the translation by Nicholas Maniacora (d. 1145), which was based on the Hebrew in consultation with rabbis[47].

45 Mary E. O'Carroll, SND – *A Thirteenth-Century preacher's handbook: Studies in MS Laud Misc. 511*. Vol. 128: Studies and Texts. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1997, Appendix 8, p. 355-370, comparing the pericopes for Franciscan, Dominican, Paris, Sarum and York use.

46 Andrew G. Watson – *Catalogue of dated and datable manuscripts c. 700-1600 in the Department of Manuscripts: The British Library*. London: British Library, 1979, vol. 1, no. 462.

47 Robert Weber – Un nouveau manuscrit de la révision du Psautier 'Iuxta Hebraeos' due a Nicolas Maniacoria. *Revue Bénédictine*. 85 (1975), p. 402-404; Cornelia Linde – *How to correct the Sacra scriptura?: Textual criticism of the Latin Bible*

Bibles with texts for the Divine Office

Thirteenth-century Bibles with texts for the Divine Office have received less attention than Bibles with Mass texts, and the discussion here is necessarily a preliminary one. It is easy to overlook the evidence. I had examined the first Bible discussed here, Paris, BnF, MS lat. 10429, at least twice on different occasions over the years, but my notes merely recorded that the Psalms were followed by prayers of various sorts[48]. In reality, this is a sophisticated compendium combining a Bible with a Breviary, along with numerous other texts for Franciscan use. The Bible is arranged according to the new Paris order with the addition of the apocryphal Ezra Books (Stegmüller 96, 95, 97), includes the Paris set of prologues, modern chapters and the usual *Interpretations of Hebrew Names*, and the characteristic textual readings of the Paris Bible. It can be dated to the second quarter of the thirteenth century based on the evidence of the script and decoration, and was likely made either in Paris or elsewhere in Northern France (England is not impossible, although is less likely).

The Psalter includes not only the Psalms, but hymns, antiphons, capitula, and extensive liturgical directions for saying the Office; many of the psalms are copied with each verse beginning (with a one-line initial) on a new line, one line per verse, abbreviated as needed[49]. Following the Psalms are the Canticles[50], creed, litany (including Francis), prayers, hymns, (not noted), and the Common of Saints of the Breviary. This is followed by the Office of Mary, the Office of the dead, and the *Officium de benedictione mensa* (prayers said at meals).

A Latin word used for the Bible during most of the Middle Ages was *bibliotheca*, which also means "library." This Bible was indeed a veritable library for an early Franciscan friar. Its text demonstrates the use of the Bible in preaching and exegesis, but the use of this Bible for the Mass (in the margin alongside Matthew 11 is a note, "Ewangelium quod legitur in festo beati Francisco") and Office

between the twelfth and fifteenth century. Oxford : Society for the Study of Medieval Languages and Literature, 2012, p. 250-252.

48 For example, it seems possible that a Dominican Bible, Paris, BnF, MS lat. 13154, may include texts for the Office. The Palms were omitted in the Bible, and then copied as prose rather than verse at the end of the volume in three closely written columns; they appear to be quite abbreviated. It concludes with the canticles and other texts, followed by a densely written calendar.

49 This type of abbreviated version of the Psalms, with one line allotted for only as much of a verse as will fit, and the remainder of the verse simply omitted, can be found in other Bibles; two examples (there are others), include, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean MS 16 (cited above note 33), and HM 26061, discussed above p. 18 (I thank Dr. Consuelo Dutschke for bringing this to my attention).

50 The Old and New Testament Canticles were chanted during the Divine Office, and there are other examples of thirteenth-century Bibles where they are copied following the Psalms, although it is a detail often missed. See for example Luís Correia de Sousa, *et al. – Sacra Pagina…* (cited note 18), p. 286-287, cat. 10, discussing the Canticles in Cat. 10, BNP, Alc. 455; see also cat. 18, Universidade de Coimbra – Biblioteca Geral, Cofre 3, and cat. 32, BNP, IL 63.

predominates. Job is followed by Henry of Blois's *Compendium on Job*[51]. Following the Bible, there is collection of sermon themes arranged according to liturgical occasion – a text which circulated independently (it is found in at least a dozen or so Bibles), and in both the real concordance (falsely) attributed to Anthony of Padua, and in the *Promptuarium*[52]. There are different versions, but it always consists of a list of liturgical occasions followed by numerous biblical citations that could be used as suitable themes; this version includes Francis, and unusually lists the Mass lections first, followed by other possible themes (for some feasts in this manuscript only the Epistle and Gospel reading are given). Further texts follow, including the *Interpretations of Hebrew Names*, a commentary on the Lord's Prayer[53], the Creed, Isidore's *Allegories on the Old and New Testament*[54], and a commentary on the Ten Commandments.

Mendicant Bibles that we can call Bible-Breviaries are not common (although, I suspect more will be identified)[55]. There are however, many mendicant Bibles with Office readings marked in the margins of the biblical text; a few examples follow. Paris, BnF, MS lat. 17954 is a Bible that was copied in Northern France, most likely in Paris, in the 1230s. It was probably professionally copied, but it is not impossible that it was copied by a friar for his own use in a careful, but not meticulous, upright gothic bookhand; it is not illuminated. It is a chunky, medium-size portable Bible, with 470 folios, measuring 185 x 120 (written space, c. 118 x 80) mm. Textually, and in terms of the usual extra-biblical elements, this is a copy of the Paris Bible. It is not copiously annotated, despite its wide margins, but it does include a few marginal notes that use language similar to the *correctiones*, comparing the text with the Hebrew and "*antiqui*."[56] Two ex-libris notes testify to its early Dominican ownership, and it was annotated early in its history for the readings of the Divine Office. For example, in 1 Kings, the readings for the first Sunday through the second ferial day after Trinity Sunday are marked, concluding at 1 Kings 3, and then continuing at chapters 7-11 with the second and third Sundays. Tobit includes annotations for *dominca iii septembris*, and Job for *dominica i septembris*. The indications for these Office readings are clearly added over a period of time, but some are early; the notations in Job for example could be from the thirteenth century.

51 Peter of Blois – *Compendium in Job*; Stegmüller 6431, listing at least forty manuscripts.

52 Light – Non-biblical… (cited note 8), p. 178-179.

53 Some similarities to Stegmüller 9354.

54 Stegmüller 5173.

55 University of Pennsylvania, Codex 236, is an extraordinary early example of a small-format Bible from Paris, and includes a Missal and Breviary, but there is no evidence to suggest it is mendicant; see Light – Thirteenth-century pandect… (cited note 32), p. 194-198. Other examples (use still undetermined), include a Bible-Breviary, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, Urb lat. 597; see Light – Non-biblical… (cited note 8), p. 177 and note 34; and Lisbon, BNP, IL. 34, with a Breviary followed by a Missal; see Luís Correia de Sousa et al. – *Sacra Pagina* (cited note 18), cat. 13.

56 For example, see ff. 214rv.

Another Dominican example is London, British Library, Arundel MS 324, a Bible that might be from Germany, Austria or Switzerland, perhaps in a region with some Italian influence. Its format and decoration are unusual. It is fairly small, measuring 160 x 100 (written space, 120 x 80) mm., and it is not a copy of the Paris Bible[57]. It includes a list of Mass lections, unusually copied in the middle of the book following Baruch, for Dominican use (including readings for Dominic, the translation of Dominic, and Peter Martyr, as well as for Francis). There are numerous marginal notes indicating Office readings[58]. This is not a copiously annotated book, but it is quite dirty, suggesting vigorous use.

Numerous other examples of mendicant Bibles that include marginal annotations for Office readings could be cited[59]. Like Bibles with Missals, these Bibles (as well as complete Bible-Breviaries), were a practical solution. The biblical texts read during the Office, in particular at Matins, are in fact more extensive than those read during the Mass, with readings drawn from almost every book of the Bible. According to Roman Use (followed by the Franciscans), for example, the liturgical year began in Advent with readings from Isaiah, and then continued with the Pauline Epistles, the Heptateuch, Jeremiah, Acts, the Catholic Epistles, the Apocalypse, Kings, Proverbs, Wisdom, Job, Tobit, Judith, Esther, Ezra, Maccabees, Ezekiel, Daniel, and the Minor Prophets[60]. The idea of a friar using his small portable Bible for readings for the Office is, in fact, interesting in a number of ways that call out for further research. Scholars discussing the development of the portable one-volume Breviary often mention that the lessons in these volumes are very short; did the friars use their Bibles to read the lessons at greater length? The way in which a Bible and a Breviary occur in Franciscan and Dominican legislation makes them seem almost like a set – a friar needed a Bible and a Breviary quite early in his religious life[61].

57 Textually unrelated to the Paris Bible; note the order of the biblical books: Octateuch, 1-4 Kings, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, 2(3) Ezra, Tobit, Judith, Esther, 1-2 Maccabees, Baruch, Isaiah, Minor Prophets, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Daniel (followed by some of the prologues from Minor Prophets), Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Ecclesiasticus (with with the prayer of Solomon), Gospels, Pauline Epistles, Acts(?), Catholic Epistles, Apocalypse (the location of Acts needs to be verified). It includes neither the Paris prologues nor its distinctive readings and lacks the *Interpretations of Hebrew Names*.

58 See for example, ff. 5-9v, where lections for the Sundays and ferial days before Lent are indicated in the margins of Genesis.

59 Other examples include, Paris, BnF, MS lat. 166, Franciscan(?); Paris, BnF, MS lat. 163, Dominican, with a Missal, marked for liturgical readings in the minor prophets and the New Testament, and with a list of books read in the Office; and Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 216 (1-2), possibly Dominican.

60 Susan Boynton – The Bible and the Liturgy. In *The Practice of the Bible in the Middle Ages*. Dir. Susan Boynton and Diane Reilly. New York: Columbia University Press, p. 23-24. In the same volume, essays by Richard Gyug – Early Medieval Bibles, Biblical Books, and the Monastic Liturgy in the Benevantan Region, p. 34-60, and Diane Reilly – Lectern Bibles and Liturgical Reform, p. 105-125, discuss Bibles used for Office readings before the thirteenth century. For a general introduction, see S. J. P. Van Dijk – The Bible in Liturgical Use. In *The Cambridge History of the Bible*. Volume 2: *The West from the Fathers to the Reformation*. Dir. G. W. H. Lampe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969, p. 220-52.

61 Kenneth W. Humphreys – *The Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars, 1215-1400*. Amsterdam: Erasmus Books, p. 36: "After six months, when he received his *pecunia*, the novice could use any money left over after buying clothes to buy a Bible and

In this essay, I have quite deliberately chosen to approach the subject of the mendicant Bible and its liturgical use anecdotally, by discussing the liturgical texts in a small number of selected examples. This approach, I hope, preserves the uniqueness and immediacy of each individual Bible. Nonetheless, the examples chosen here were not random choices; rather they were deliberately chosen as representative of the much larger group of manuscripts that I have studied, and to support some general (albeit preliminary) conclusions. First, the physical appearance of mendicant Bibles is quite diverse, ranging from simply decorated volumes, to rather lavishly illuminated ones. Secondly (although somewhat more provisionally), there appears to be no textual uniformity in thirteenth-century Franciscan and Dominican Bibles, beyond the incidental (even accidental) uniformity of using many Bibles from the same locality. To put this in another way, two Dominican Bibles from Paris, for example, may in fact be textually quite similar, but this is probably because they are both Parisian, and not because they are both Dominican. This being said, it is important to note that that there has been relatively little real research to date on the text of thirteenth-century mendicant Bibles. Comparisons of the type used to analyze the Bibles discussed here – based on the order of the books, choice of prologues, and selected textual passages – are important and suggest textual diversity. But this research needs to be extended, both by applying these criteria to more manuscripts, and by studying the actual biblical text in depth based on collations of more extensive passages.

We began by asking why so many Franciscans and Dominicans owned or used pocket Bibles? What were these Bibles for? There is no one answer to this question. But I would argue that any answer must first recognize the primacy of the liturgy in the life of the friars. This is an essential insight, and one that is broadly useful and applicable even to Bibles that do not include explicit evidence of liturgical use of the type we have discussed here. Travelling from place to place, mendicant friars turned to their Bibles for the readings for the Mass and Divine Office. This liturgical use of the Bible was certainly not the only use (although I wonder if it might not have been the primary one for many friars), but it is one that simply cannot be ignored. Traditionally almost completely overlooked by scholars studying thirteenth-century Bibles, the evidence is there once you begin to look for it, and I am quite certain there is more to be found.

Breviary." "Volumus ut novicii qui tantum pecuniam habent ut solutes vestibus possint de illa emere bibliam et breviarium quod ex ea de residuo emant." *Constitutiones*, dist I.15. in H. Denifle – Die constitutions de Predigerordens vom Jahre 1228. *Archiv für Litteratur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*. I (1885) 202.